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SOURCE Newspapers and periodicals as indicated.

TREATMENT OF REPUDIATION OF COMPROMISE WITH WEST
IN CHINESE COMMUNIST PRESS, PERIODICALS, FIRST QUARTER 1952

A. Scope of Report

In the preparation of this report on repudiation of compromise and neu-
 tralism with the West, only Chinese Communist newspapers and periodicals were
 used as sources. They cover the period 30 December 1951 - 6 April 1952.

In newspaper and periodical sources, all speeches on the policy-making
 level, key editorials, feature articles, letters to the editor, poems with
 propaganda themes, etc., which bore directly on the noncompromise, nonneutral-
 ism theme, were culled for relevant information. Indirect references to the
 theme were also noted and recorded.

B. Treatment of Theme

The contention that compromise with the West and neutralism are futile
 since conflict between the capitalist and Communist systems is inevitable ap-
 peared only infrequently in mainland newspapers and periodicals from January to
 April 1952. The most definitive statement on nonneutralism was made by Ssu-
 tu Mei-t'ang in a New Year's message to overseas Chinese in which he posited
 the concept of two irreconcilable camps -- the democratic and the aggressive --
 and the Central People's Government policy of "leaning to one side." This
 latter phrase, averring that the side to lean toward is that of Communism and
 the Soviet Union, was reiterated in speeches by Li Chi-shen and Chang Lan on
 the occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty
 (14 February 1952), but was not elaborated upon. In these, as in the address
 of Ssu-t'u Mei-t'ang, the repudiation of compromise and third-road policies was
 a theme directed explicitly at Chinese and not at foreign governments as such.
 The Shanghai News, English-language organ of the Central People's Government in
 East China, omitted in toto Ssu-t'u Mei-t'ang's remarks on noncompromise.

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The contention that there is no middle ground between capital and labor -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat -- was prominent in the current campaign against the domestic bourgeoisie. In this campaign, the theme, which was presented as the acceleration of the class struggle, received inordinate attention, but was confined to the domestic scene.

C. Content of Theme

In a New Year's message published 1 January 1952 in the Peiping Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Ssu-t'u Mei-t'ang, president of the Chih Kung Tang and member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference representing overseas Chinese, in an appeal for financial and political support of overseas Chinese, clearly outlines the "international" orientation of the Chinese Communists:

"Finally, I wish to elaborate on the reason for integrating internationalism with patriotism, leaning to the side of the Soviet Union, and continuing to bolster resistance to the US and aid to Korea. People within China have generally come to understand this total question, but among overseas Chinese there is an inertia of confusion which is impairing the noble patriotic task of uniting overseas Chinese.

"Overseas Chinese have undergone bitter experiences; in any relations with 'foreign governments' in the past, the 'Chinese government' has invariably suffered impairment of authority and national disgrace. Overseas Chinese, inflated with a malignant hatred, referred to foreigners not as 'barbarians', but as 'devils' -- a circumstance which today remains unaltered. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance is construed, by a few backward overseas Chinese, as an instance where 'foreigners' wish to 'deceive and cheat Chinese,' and the inevitable question raised by the policy of 'leaning to one side' becomes 'Is it not better that we remain independent? Why must we lean to one side?'

"I have spoken to many overseas Chinese in the past 2 or 3 years. Some already understand; others are generally unwilling to understand or, although averring that they do, inwardly reject the notion. I maintain that these persons do not basically recognize, or are unwilling to recognize, that the Soviet Union is a socialist state -- a state which holds the liberation of all mankind as an ultimate goal. They fail to recognize the unitary truth that the world is already divided into the camp for peace and democracy and the camp for aggressive war. Whosoever does not lean to the camp for peace and democracy, must lean to the camp for aggressive war.

"The People's Republic of China is traveling the road of the New Democracy and is pressing on to the road of socialism. Our goals and interests are identical with those of the Soviet Union. Thus we have the Treaty of Fraternal Assistance which has, as its expressed purpose, the grant of fraternal assistance by the socialist elder brother to our firmly established People's Republic of China, the diminution of our difficulties, and the prohibition of the plots of imperialism designed to assassinate our New China through war.

"China's revolutionary experience proves conclusively that if the Chinese people had remained without aid from international revolutionary forces, they could never have won the day. It was 34 years ago that the Soviet Union, in contrast to all other foreigners, became the first 'nation to treat us as equals' [this phrase is from the Last Testament of Sun Yat-sen] and to conclude a peace treaty with us. The Soviet Union rendered us great assistance in the war against Japan and, during the struggle for liberation, went a step further in helping us.

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"In the past 2 years since liberation, Soviet experts, technical advisers, teachers, and doctors have come to aid China in not a few reconstruction projects. They have shortened roads which could not be shortened and reduced for us irreducible difficulties. So erudite and yet so modest. Diligent in their industry and yet unmindful of recompense, they have no thoughts of their own merits and fall prey to no egoism. The manifestation of such innumerable facts has been evinced by the international spirit of the people of the Soviet Union."

The frankness with which Ssu-t'u Mei-t'ang assesses the anti-Soviet sentiment among overseas Chinese cannot be dealt with here, except to point out that the above excerpt was completely omitted when this speech was reprinted on 5 January 1952 in the Shanghai News, the English-language organ of the Central People's Government in East China.

In an article entitled "In Honor of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Alliance" carried in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, 11 February 1952, Li Chi-shen, vice-chairman (one of six) of the Central People's Government and vice-chairman, SSFA, reinforced the partisan concept of Chinese international politics propounded by government leaders, as follows:

"As we celebrate this day of great historical significance, I sincerely hope that the people of the nation will unanimously abide by the official foreign policy of leaning to one side as advocated by Chairman Mao, strive together to strengthen and develop the enduring friendship between Chinese and the people of the Soviet Union, and fight to the end." Again, the Shanghai News, which carried this speech on 14 February 1952, omitted the expression "leaning to one side."

Chang Lan, chairman of the China Democratic League, uses the same phrase in an essay written to celebrate the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty, and published in the Shanghai Chieh-fang Jih-pao, 15 February 1952. "The solidarity and friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples cannot be broken by any scheme or tactic. We know quite well that to achieve peace and to enable Chinese to gain guarantees for independence, it is most imperative that we comply with Chairman Mao's policy of leaning to one side and strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union." This speech was not carried by the Shanghai News.

In the domestic campaigns directed against the bourgeoisie and "big capitalists" in China, CCP authorities have averred that the class struggle is at hand and that Chinese people, in militant union, must choose between capital and labor. A feature article in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, 24 January 1952, entitled "Do You Stand on That Side or This Side?" and directed at party and nonparty state functionaries, quotes from Article 18 of the Common Program "the task of a functionary shall include simplicity, honesty, and service to the people," and concludes: "This is one side. That is another side. This is a revolutionary, popular one. That is a counterrevolutionary, antipopular one. This side demands honesty, not graft; simplicity, not waste; and service to the people, not bureaucracy. That side is just 'opposed.' The two decidedly cannot coexist. There is absolutely no ground for compromise."

The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is thus pictured as acute. An article published in the Hsueh Hsi, Vol V, No 4, 30 December 1951, entitled "The International Aspects of the October Revolution," shows the nature of this clash to be more than domestic:

"Socialism has manifested itself and split the world into two opposing camps: the socialist and the imperialist. People must choose sides in this sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism. Those who support socialism, are friends of the people who have thereby dedicated themselves to serve the

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people and to resolutely effect the struggle against imperialism. Those who support imperialism, are enemies of the people who have thereby dedicated themselves to serve the monopolistic capitalists and, naturally, to impair socialism. It is quite clear that no one can sit on the fence as a mere onlooker. There is no third road."

D. Sources

The following sources were surveyed for this report:

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 Hankow, Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao, 1 Jan - 29 Feb 52
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2. Periodicals

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